

## Message Text

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63

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GEORGETOWN 1796

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GY, SF

SUBJECT: GUYANA'S FONMIN COMMENTS ON SECRETARY KISSINGER AND  
AFRICA

SUMMARY: GUYANA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, FRED WILLS, HAS PRAISED  
SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EFFORTS TOWARD FINDING FORMULAE FOR COMPROMISE  
ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. DURING RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH ME HE ALSO  
CRITICIZED THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) FOR  
HAVING FAILED TO INITIATE SIMILAR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE  
PROBLEM. ANY SOLUTION, HE ARGUES, WILL REQUIRE THAT BLACK AFRICANS  
PROVIDE GUARANTEES FOR THE WHITE MINORITIES. SURPRISINGLY, WILLS  
ALSO COMPLIMENTED SOUTH AFRICA'S VORSTER AND RHODESIA'S SMITH FOR  
THEIR POLITICAL ACUMEN. WILLS HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT SECRETARY  
KISSINGER WOULD NOT BE MANEUVERED INTO ACCEPTING THE SEPARATE  
HOMELAND POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A TRADE-OFF FOR VORSTER'S  
SUPPORT TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION LEADING TO A MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA,

END SUMMARY.

1. DURING A CONVERSATION WITH ME SEPTEMBER 7 PRIMARILY ON OTHER  
MATTERS, FONMIN WILLS RAISED SUBJECT OF SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH  
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PRIME MINISTER VORSTER. HE SAID KISSINGER HAD ADVANCED US POLICY

ON SOUTHERN AFRICA MORE DURING THE PAST YEAR THAN IT HAD MOVED DURING THE PREVIOUS TEN YEARS. WILLS WAS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT VORSTER MIGHT SEEM TO AGREE TO KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS, KNOWING THAT IMPLEMENTATION WOULD TAKE SEVERAL MONTHS AND KISSINGER WOULD SOON BE LEAVING OFFICE.

2. WILLS, FOR THE SECOND TIME DURING CONVERSATIONS WITH ME, CRITICIZED THE OAU AND HEADS OF AFRICAN GOVTS FOR FAILING TO TAKE THE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE AND ACTIVELY SEEK QUIETLY NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS. THE OAU HAD CONFINED ITS EFFORTS TO PROPAGANDA AND THE MOBILIZATION OF POLITICAL PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. THESE EFFORTS, WHILE NECESSARY, WOULD NOT LEAD TO SUCCESS WITHOUT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES OF THE KIND THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS NOW ATTEMPTING.

3. NYERERE, WHILE WELCOMING THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS, WAS AWARE THAT KISSINGER AND VORSTER MIGHT ACCOMPLISH MORE IN A WEEKEND OF TALKS, SAID WILLS, THAN THE OAU AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE WITH ALL THEIR CLAMOR. THEREFORE, TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF HAVING LOST THE INITIATIVE, NYERERE HAD CONVOKED THE SUMMIT MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM AND NOW WAS INVITING KISSINGER TO INITIATE HIS SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY.

4. WILLS EMPHASIZED THAT BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT ANY SOLUTION TO RHODESIAN PROBLEM AND, EVEN MORE SO, IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST MAKE PROVISION FOR THE WHITE MINORITIES TO FEEL THAT THEY WILL HAVE A SECURE PLACE IN THEIR COUNTRIES. WITHOUT CREATIVE AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS INVOLVING GUARANTEES, THE WHITES, SAID WILLS, WOULD FIGHT TO THE BITTER END.

5. WILLS SURPRISINGLY WAS HIGHLY COMPLIMENTARY OF VORSTER AND RHODESIA'S IAN SMITH AS POLITICIANS. OF VORSTER, HE COMMENTED THAT IT WAS A TRAGEDY THAT SUCH AN ASTUTE AND CAPABLE POLITICIAN HAD TO BE SADDLED WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS AT THIS STAGE IN HISTORY. ONLY NYERERE OF ALL THE BLACK AFRICAN POLITICAL LEADERS, WILLS SAID, COULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE SAME CLASS AS VORSTER AND SMITH IN TERMS OF INTELLIGENCE AND POLITICAL ABILITY.

6. WILLS SAID HE HOPED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT, AS A TRADE-OFF FOR  
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VORSTER'S SUPPORT OF A COMPROMISE FORMULA FOR RHODESIA, AGREE TO ACCEPT SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF "SEPARATE HOMELANDS". HE THEN SAID HE SENSED SOUTH AFRICA WAS BEGINNING A RENEWED CAMPAIGN TO PROMOTE THEM INTERNATIONALLY. FOR EXAMPLE, A GROUP OF FOUR SOUTH AFRICAN CHIEFS (BANTUSTAN LEADERS), ACCOMPANIED BY TWO WHITE ADVISERS, WOULD SOON TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES, JAMAICA AND, HE THOUGHT, BARBADOS. THEY ALSO WANTED TO COME TO GUYANA BUT GUYANA WOULD NOT RECEIVE THEM. WILLS SAID HE WAS COMMUNICATING

WITH THE JAMAICAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO SUGGEST THAT JAMAICA ALSO REFUSE TO RECEIVE THEM. WILLS SAID HIS CONCERN WAS THAT THE IDEA OF SEPARATE HOMELANDS, LIMITED IN SIZE AND ECONOMICALLY UNVIALE, MIGHT SOMEHOW GAIN A DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE.

7. COMMENT: EVER SINCE WILLS RETURNED FROM THE COLOMBO NASC, HE HAS BEEN HIGH IN HIS PRAISE FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SPEECHES ON THIRD WORLD ISSUES AND PARTICULARLY ON AFRICA. HE ENDORSES THE SECRETARY'S CURRENT EFFORTS TO MOVE THE RHODESIAN IMPASSE OUT OF ITS CONFRONTATIONAL STATE AND INTO A DIALOGUE WHICH COULD LEAD TO A SOLUTION. HIS CANDID EXPRESSION OF RESPECT FOR RHODESIA'S SMITH AND SOUTH AFRICA'S VORSTER IS SURPRISING AND AN INDICATION THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF OBJECTIVE THINKING.  
BLACKEN

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